1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
578 Ifalik

"Since evil spirits may be regarded as scapegoats, personifications of evil, the only action appropriate to them, is aggressive. That is a different matter from aggression against other human beings. Not that such aggression is altogether absent. The chiefs' structures show that gossip exists on Ifalik, as elsewhere. But it hardly ever breaks out overtly; and, from all our evidence, never summons supernatural support."

1: Burrows--202 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 554, 578, 159 Ifalik

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalũ clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory, --notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

2: Damm et al. --192 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 578 Faraulep

Insults like mánu butšo - confounded fellow, go tē pirá manemu eái-do not steal from me! or xo na fēe manemu monáianum - use your own sister! frequently lead to blows. But the contestants seldom fight until one of them dies. If this does occur, the brother of the slain man makes certain demands; otherwise these are not required.

4; Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 674, 578, 152 Lamotrek

Murder, limalau, is said never to have happened because hatred and greed are practically nonexistent. On the other hand manslaughter is known when two parties fight each other over some dispute or another.

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and

cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--103 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 578, 865, 231 Ifalik

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."